

**"THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH—HOW
TO MEET IT."**—*By Hinton Rowen Helper.*

NEGRO slavery exists in the southern States of North America according to a well-known constitutional provision for special numerical representation in Congress; without which our Union, as a nation, could not have been accomplished. This institution was modified by exact principles of natural, moral, and political proportion we have been taught to respect.

Wild tribes of native Africans, slaves at home, were introduced into the American colonies by the persistence of a distant government, aided by northern merchants and eastern ship owners. The descendants of the savage strangers now toil in our Southern States in the peaceful labors of the field, often accompanied by their owners or overseers.

These slaves enjoy a due portion of the products of their industry, aided by the intelligence, capital, and skill of their

owners, who honestly paid for them to the original British or Northern proprietors. Our Southern slaves possess regular days of rest, with the same moral instruction as their masters; special attention being often given by kindly men for their proper comprehension.

By nature, the negro is a cheerful, careless, joyous creature; ordinarily, well contented under the considerate care and gentle treatment he commonly receives in the Southern States. It is recognized to be the interest, as well as the duty of the master, to provide for the slave in a judicious and humane manner, in sickness and in health, from childhood to old age. Those who do not exercise such guardianship are appreciated accordingly. The injudicious interference of some unaccustomed to this institution alone prevents more strict interposition of State laws to enforce merciful and just conduct to the slave, when such are wanting, certainly, by exception to a general rule. Negro slavery has altered its conditions under the mild system of government which prevails in the United States.

The traffic in prisoners of war, the primitive slaves of savage nations in Africa, was strongly insisted upon by the mother country, Great Britain, contrary to the wish of American colonists in the South, who constantly objected to such introduction for labor. The barbarous aborigines of Africa have been gradually humanized by the tedious but careful supervision and instructions of a race of superior cultivation and intelligence. The true benefactors of these wandering tribes are now outraged in character, person, and property by the immediate progeny of some, who, notwithstanding religious profession, had the largest share in the profits of the foreign slave trade, and now uneasily employ the product of their enterprise, in other more convenient or lucrative channels of investment.

When the Humane Decalogue we have been taught to reverence, was offered as a rule of life to an ancient people, negro slavery existed in Egypt, and was carried by the Hebrews, through the wilderness, into the promised land. No better opportunity could offer to forbid the servile condition of the wandering negro race than then occurred.

But among the early precepts of the Hebrew, moderated from anterior practices, are rules inculcating a generous consideration for the negro slave, called "the bondman" or "the stranger," to distinguish him from "the hired servant" of the Hebrew race "bound to service for a term of years,"

protected like our own citizens, form a similar condition of permanent servitude. The same principle of active and discriminating humanity was applied to every other dependant, distinguished by method of treatment according to natural character and kind. Even before the exodus we read Abraham had servants from the Egyptian, "some bought with his money and some born in his house!"

When Rebecca left her father's family to become the wife of Isaac, the simple but accurate record describes a peculiar feature in southern life—

"She took her nurse and her damsels with her, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man!"

We certainly believe that negro slavery had such an antiquity. Its modification, by a moral reformation, in that distant age, does not offer an assurance that immediate or indiscriminate emancipation of the same race can be right or necessary now. Those considerate rules, for correct morals or manners in life, were carefully copied from Hebrew history into the modern system of liberal government established by our fathers. Such principles conscientiously influence men's conduct quite as much in the South as at the East. The modern fanatic and incendiary coolly proposes, upon a slender foundation of partial texts, some times extracted from perverted translation, to break down each plain provision of written law, wisely calculated in practice for the social security and domestic peace of mankind in every relation and condition of life. The wicked visionary attempts to qualify a phrenzied, merciless, and selfish feeling by blasphemous pretension to an equitable agency!

A sense of the responsibilities of "truth, mercy, and justice," will induce those who refer to the records of Holy Writ to study the absolute condition of the slave, the master, and the mistress at the South; and sternly to oppose every partial and aggressive interference, even to deny themselves conveniences which may tend to encourage falsity, insolence, and malignity.

"The Impending Crisis of the South," dated in June, 1859 was obviously arranged to aid a concerted scheme of disunion and disorder which distinguishes the announcement of "an irrepressible conflict" in the North; with the treacherous, murderous, fanatical outrage of John Brown, and his desperate partisans in Virginia. It is impossible to separate these projects before the southern mind. They evince one common effort in opposition to the liberal constitutional provisions establish-

ed by our noblest patriots, which foreign nations would willingly obstruct, and have found traitors among us to encourage such distraction. The only hope of peace lies in the firm attitude of the South; with an expectation still remaining that our *true friends* in the North will exert themselves to put down the reckless, insensate men who counsel or encourage cruelty, rapine, and confusion everywhere among us.

The book attributed to Helper, portrays—

First. A malicious hatred against the people of the South; insidiously denouncing generous expenditures at the North; or contrasting them with an assumed want of energy and wealth in the South. These attempts are accompanied by direct insults, offensive to our feelings—by comparisons presented with a brutal, but a sneaking air, scarce worthy of rebuke.

Second. A ridiculous assumption, of financial ability, drawn from studied statements of some official authority, but so distorted and contracted, as to entitle them to a sentence of inaccuracy, which *too much evidence* sometimes aids to confirm.

Third. An acknowledged prepossession against the negroes as well as their owners in the heartlessness of an immediate emancipation and deportation of the slaves, *without estimates* for such expenditures, or the slightest exhibition of judgment, justice, or humanity. Certain partial extracts, from the opinions of patriotic men, *formerly* influenced by high hopes from abolition, are again renewed when time and experience have shown that they were futile—more humane in feeling than practical in truth.

Fourth. A mischievous but vain attempt to train the honest non-slaveholding population of the South and elsewhere into a direct antagonism against other property-holders, at the expense of every moral obligation that men are commonly taught to respect.

Fifth. A vindictive denunciation of the Democracy, paraded under cover of an affected disrelish for negro slavery, but avowedly to sever the Union of the States—to weaken the power of the nation abroad by disturbing and depressing every description of industry, to reduce the price of cotton wool, and the value of all other property in the United States.

Sixth. A certain, half-concealed, foreign policy, in some wary manner, enters into all the pretentious arguments advanced. Its infamy alone can give authority to this work attributed to Hinton Rowan Helper.

In striving to disentangle the equivocal statistics, prejudiced

arguments, false statements, or deductions of the book, we become convinced, from variety in the finish, style, bias, and material, its contents have been furnished by different hands. The personal prepossessions against slaveowners, shown in the form of comparative tables, for illusory contrasts, are often suddenly intermingled with venomous denunciations of the Democratic party with a shield to protect an Opposition *even in the South*.

Exultations and threats of what will be accomplished after an anticipated victory, subside with a regular chorus of eulogy of the Republicans and Great Britain—"the most flourishing and refined nation in the world!"—(Page 60.) No sympathy is expressed for "the oppressed" anywhere—for the negro slave nor for his impoverished owner. "We should rid ourselves not only of African slavery, which is an abomination and a curse, *but also of the negroes themselves*, whom, in our judgment, whether viewed in relation to their actual characteristics and condition, or through *the strong antipathies of the whites*, are, to say the least, an undesirable population."—(Page 97.) In the preface, Helper distinctly informs us: "It has been no part of my purpose to cast *unmerited opprobrium* upon the slaveholders or to display any *special friendship* or sympathy for the blacks."

We profess no confidence in statistics offered to establish just principles of political economy solely in opposition to negro slavery. A much greater accuracy in detail is necessary to satisfy us that any of the financial enumerations are correct; since the people of the United States at large do not yet sufficiently regard the importance of such "recently invented" means of information. In the thickly-settled communities of our country, the whole agricultural product may be given in that portion employed for domestic consumption as well as that part which is exported. The latter may even be repeated in some cases, and thus be *doubled* at distinct points of departure. While in thin settlements of the South and West *averages* are drawn from very careless inventories; without regard to a large domestic expenditure, the exports alone being recorded. Statistical tables which are *not exact or true* are worse than useless, for they mislead; the consequences are evil, because they are false.

Helper has fallen into a common error that "figures do not lie."—(Page 60.) But, as the French say, "that depends and can only be judged by reference to the *character of the hands they pass through!*"

In the vaunted account of "the grass crop" of the North,

the results make distinct impressions when viewed with other items, from distant points of contrast. At page 45, it is written: "We can prove, and we intend to prove, from *facts* in our possession, that the hay crop of the free States is worth considerably more in dollars and cents than all the cotton, rice, hay and hemp, produced in the fifteen slave States." In the estimate (page 53) are also added "tobacco and cane sugar." He assumes that in 1850 the balance in favor of the free States, from their accounts, was more than three and a half millions of dollars. But he shows very distinctly the highest prices were *paid* for hay in Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Charleston, and Louisville—say from \$24 to \$33 per ton, on an average, \$26 16 $\frac{2}{3}$, although a general average of the price of this article, hay, was only \$11 20 per ton elsewhere.

It appears, therefore, that a large sum is annually paid to the North for hay which southern planters provide for cattle, notwithstanding the general indifference, carelessness, and poverty in the South! It is not necessary to enter into any regular refutation of his disorderly figures, but they suggest certain corrections we may occasionally allude to.

At page 35, among various agricultural products, the Indian corn crop of the South is happily made to exceed that of the North about 106,000,000 of bushels; and yet we can perceive no statement of the immense supplies of "corn-fodder" which, in the South, takes the place of hay upon the plantation and on the roads. The South, then, it is made plainly to appear, *has been* a valuable customer to the North, in purchasing hay for cattle; besides consuming all our own "roughness" while growing cotton, tobacco, and sugar to export. We cannot perceive any superiority for the free States in this respect, although there is presented the *fact* of a liberal expenditure for *horses and cattle* in the South. If we could ascertain the amount of roasting ears, sweet potatoes, melons, poultry, and "other truck," raised upon the negro "patches" and *eaten by them*, annually, we feel assured we could strike a very different balance in the list of agricultural productions; and show that the provision for the negroes are at least as generous in their relation of value as that for any other "stock," dead or alive.

It is well known the basis of valuation differs in different districts of a State. The amount of bank issues has occasionally an influence on these relations. In States or cities where there are large public debts, and interest must be paid from time to time, it becomes necessary to increase the per centage; or to rate all kind of taxable property at higher values. The

bank capital in the free States, we are informed, with some exultation, (page 286,) *exceeds* that of the slave States about \$128,000,000. The *paper issues* of each are not recorded; we presume such proportions do not *fall short* of the capital in each locality. But, is it not obvious such an item must influence the valuation put upon every agricultural product or farming implement in each sectional portion of the United States; producing a higher or lower value attached in the enumeration of such wealth, revenue, or expenditure?

That the southern people, white and black, live in ease and security, compared with other portions of this country or of the world, no one who possesses sufficient experience can doubt. The southerners spend freely when they have money; even the negroes at the North instinctively *select* such customers, because in the South the servants are permitted to enjoy liberally, like the masters. Helper affects indignation at the low rates paid for female labor in his old neighborhood, "not less than three hundred young women, non-slaveholding whites, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, hiring themselves out, during harvest time, in the hottest season of the year, to bind wheat and oats, each of them keeping up with the reaper; and this for the paltry consideration of twenty-five cents per day!"

Such was the practice among the early settlers in North Carolina. The custom still prevails in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, as well as through France and Germany, where there is *no negro slavery*; but white women labor in fields, often in rougher work than binding sheaves, and at lower rates than in North Carolina! Helper chooses to charge every evil, and all low prices to negro slavery. He should be sent abroad to *know something*.

In his favorite city of Boston, renowned for individual wealth and piety, a southern gentleman, stopping at a prominent hotel, found respectable, modest, white girls scrubbing out the extensive privies of the establishment *early on the Sun'ay morning*. To his surprise he was told by them—for he could not pass without asking the question—it was the *regular work*, never intermitted, on account of the Sabbath. The southerner kindly said to them that, "although a slave-owner, his negroes could not be so occupied on that day." The girls *were Irish Catholics*, who might at that time have gone decently *to mass*, "an abomination" to certain modern humanitarian Puritans; not expected to interest

themselves with matters so close at hand ; their whole sympathy being absorbed by negro slaves at a distance ; free on Sundays, at any rate, to crowd to preaching ; besides being allowed Church holidays for recreation, or wages, *as they please*.

Evils are discovered in all earthly communities. Honest men desire to ascertain the true causes of offence, and strive to avoid them, by prompting discreet remedies, which will not cause greater mischiefs than they abate. But we hasten to ascertain what kind of "treatment" has been proposed for an anticipated crisis in the South—carefully provided to happen there.

Without preamble, we offer the finality of the great Helper, who, no doubt, changed a consonant in his title, on account of anticipated notoriety:

"Once for all, let us *make* the slaveholders do something *like justice* to their negroes, by giving each and every one of them his freedom, and sixty dollars in current money ! Then let us charter all the ocean steamers, packets, and clipper ships that can be had *on liberal terms*, and *keep them* constantly plying between the ports of America and Africa, until all slaves shall enjoy freedom in the land of their fathers."—(Page 183.)

We are perfectly willing to stand off and let the negroes settle this matter with Hinton and his friends. Our slaves have as little disposition to be transported back to the native country of their fathers, even "with sixty dollars cash in hand," as Helper to be forwarded with a like sum to the original place of his ancestors, wherever that might happen to be!

Notwithstanding certain declamations, *we know*, that American slaves have passed through London with their southern masters, who did not hesitate to inform the negroes of the law of freedom there if they chose to remain. But a sensible negro readily appreciates the existing amount of active consideration for "poor white folks" at the headquarters of "the most refined nation in the world"—a phrase some English friend has possibly suggested !

No doubt Helper's ships and steamers, as soon as they had *finished* the slaves, would be employed off-hand in loading up with the free colored population of the United States, as "not desirable." Helper, however, informs us he does not recognize "property in man."—(Page 123.) He also says, "It is not our *business* to think of man as a merchantable commodity."—(Page 86.) Although he proposes to export them—at any rate !

According to the Constitution of the United States the importation of this "commodity" was early forbidden. The value of slaves—called "persons not free"—is shown to be proportioned in congressional representation. If Helper ever

read a bible, a work he alludes to, he will find that negro strangers, in olden time, were plainly termed "merchandise."

Let us see now what he thinks of white people. As an example of ordinary perversion, we find Helper claims to be "a Southerner," as Arnold dared to call himself "an American."

"In one way or another *we*," writes Helper, "are more or less subservient to the North every day of our lives. In infancy we are swaddled in northern muslin; in childhood we are humored with northern gew-gaws; in youth we are instructed out of northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our wild oats on northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our health, energies, and talents in the dishonorable vocation of entailing our dependence on *our* children and *our* children's children," &c., &c. "In the decline of life we remedy our eye-sight with northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with northern canes; in old age we are drugged with northern physic; and, finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in northern cambric, are stretched upon a northern bier, borne to the grave in a northern carriage, entombed with a northern spade, and memorized with a northern slab!"—(Page 22.)

This may possibly be of service on all sides; but on whose side, *specially*, can we consider Helper, unless it be on the *outside*. One more extract to excite our southern ambition:

"Food from the North for man or for beast, or for both, is for sale in every market in the South. Even in the most insignificant little villages in the interior of the slave States, where books, newspapers, and other mediums of intelligence are *unknown*; where the poor whites and the negroes are alike bound down in heathenish ignorance and barbarism, and where the *news is received but once a week*, and then only in a northern built stage-coach, drawn by horses in northern harness, in charge of a driver dressed cap-à-pie in northern habiliments, with a northern whip in his hands, the agricultural products of the North—either crude, prepared, pickled, or preserved—are ever to be found!"—(Page 47.)

We presume northern manufacturers, printers, farmers, stonecutters, coach and harness-makers, tailors, or whip-makers, tin and hardware merchants, and those who prepare preserved fish and pickles, ought to be very careful of Mr. Helper and his "native" friends, because he adds one of *his facts*, which otherwise would not have been known, even to the multitudes of northern drummers, constantly *asking* for "orders" in the South, namely: "That the several articles enumerated are generally bought on a credit, and in a great many instances—*by far too many*—never paid for," on account of slavery!

Helper's economy is not very distinguishable at all times. He reminds us of an old lady who said "She would not allow her hens to lay eggs at six pence a dozen!"

There exists *some truth* in statements above noticed. We now arrive at a different result. "In the South," writes Helper, "unfortunately, *no kind of labor is either free or respectable*. Every white man who is under the necessity of

earning his bread by the sweat of his brow, or by manual labor in any capacity, no matter how unassuming in deportment or exemplary in morals, is treated as if he was a loathsome beast, and shunned with the utmost disdain."

A more reckless falsehood and slander no man ever uttered or wrote, as thousands can witness. No honest, industrious, civil white man—laborer, mechanic, artist, or workman, from any part of the States, or of the world—can receive anywhere more generous, kind, and hospitable treatment than is generally shown to such persons throughout the Southern States. There are few towns where some poor or destitute stranger has not been cordially received, and gradually attained both wealth and standing.

It may be annoying, however, that such persons are often Irish, and sometimes Democrats!

Such extracts from Helper's book are enough to show *intent*. There are other passages of similar kind, which, if disseminated through the South in *common almanacs*, would damn the book, the authors, and endorsers, without appeal; and fully prove the designs of "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" which have led to such a production.

With the slyness of a true demagogue and the hypocrisy of a modern fanatic, Helper says "there is not a grain of patriotism in the South except among the non-slaveholders."—p. 96. To this portion of the Southern people his efforts are specially mis-directed, for they often object more to the license or liberty permitted to slaves than to any proper constraint exercised over them by their masters.

The non-slaveholders in the South fully comprehend the evil effects of sudden emancipation, to cause them to be taxed to support an idle, lazy, careless race, now entirely at the charge of their owners. The prejudice Helper strives to create against the negro slave and free colored people of the South, we trust, will fall to the ground without causing severe or cruel restraints. The ordinary treatment of servants in the South require special information of the character and dispositions of the negro—to exercise restraint, to know when and how to make proper allowances essential to his nature. Habitual intercourse with the negro affords such instruction, not otherwise to be acquired.

A Yankee school mistress in the South complained very seriously of a hired negro slave woman, "fed and treated as well as herself from her own table." She was surprised to learn that buckwheat cakes and black tea did not come up to a negro's

notion of a good breakfast, even with omelet and beefsteaks! The black cook's stomach called for corn dodgers and fat smoked hogs' sides!

It is a curious circumstance connected with the civilized negro that he assimilates in character to his white master.

The negroes of English, Spanish, French, or Danish islands in the West Indies can as readily be distinguished from each other, as from those of the United States—the native tribes of negroes also differing essentially in character.

We trust the kindly dispositions of the Southern people will not allow the honest stranger to be "oppressed," nor the negro slave or well behaved free people of color be made to suffer on account of Helper's false crisis or the brutality of John Brown. At the same time it becomes a duty both North and South to maintain the just provisions of our political charter, and to oblige men who interrupt our constitutional *rights of property in negro slaves* to pay the penalties of illegal interference, in order to prevent an increase of a bigotted delusion nearly allied to madness. Those who "*steal*" negro slaves, or induce and assist them to avoid their responsibilities, must expect to be dealt with like other rogues. To satisfy the public mind, every proper precaution and humane consideration should, in slave States, be insisted upon toward the bondman, whose condition in the South, it must be confessed, is far from a severe one. When duly compared with the obligations of "apprentices" and laborers of many kinds, in different countries, our slaves may even be ranked high in the scale, for comforts and often for freedom. There is a great deal of nominal slavery in the South among the negroes, when treated like friends by the whites. There is a nominal freedom also, where baseness, servility, and indebtedness abound. *It is not in the South alone that men are bought and sold!*

The unsoundness of many of Helper's deductions where his representations are true, and their necessary failure, when his assertions are false, will become so very obvious in the South, where the peculiarities in regard to slavery are understood, that we should possess very slight hesitation to furnish extracts for general distribution. If every calculation or argument he employs were true, or intended to be founded upon accurate basis, the obvious want of patriotism, sensible judgment, and good feeling, the inordinate sectional prejudice he exposes, and the bitter insolence of evil design he displays, would deprive his work of permanent influence among all who respect the institutions and peace of their country. We are, how-

ever, strongly led to hope the Helper book and the John Brown raid, as it is now civilly called, will ultimately be of service to the South, if properly employed, and justly.

In urging, even with a sneering manner, greater economy in expenditures and proper provision nearer home for all useful implements—arms, machinery, clothing, provisions and tools—we have given to us by our enemies an impulse like that which, forty or fifty years ago, after war and non-intercourse abroad, first prompted energy in the North, thus adding to wealth, previously derived almost solely from the slave trade, and other commercial or agricultural pursuits in the Eastern States. In opening supplies of iron, wool, cotton, flax, gold, copper, and every important raw material we possess in the South, there can be no doubt their manufacture, close at hand, will enhance the value of our lands, of our woods, earths minerals, and water-powers, without causing unnecessary reference to those “who hate us,” or any obligation to go elsewhere for a market of supply!

A serviceable effect may be thus produced upon the southern mind by a healthy reaction from the reckless abuse we have encountered. Good may be made to grow out of the revilings of a fanatic opponent, although presented with a very different intention! Our advance may be necessarily somewhat at the expense of those whom Helper praises.

One of his foibles is an entire subserviency to the delusions of fictitious and excessive wealth, based upon dubious statistics and the flimsy expansions of bank capital, railroad debts, and idle dreams of some novel futurity. Many of his well-abused Southern countrymen would much prefer a quiet life on an old-field plantation, in the “the good North State,” among honest, generous, but poor neighbors, to the most noble residence in the city he favors, surrounded by all the appliances which the North or the world could afford, without accustomed habits or associates.

The joyous, hearty laugh or whistle of the careless, well-fed, happy negro, as he *rides* to mill, or to his work, cannot be estimated in Helper’s statistics, but are more acceptable to some than the contracted air of many who pass over Boston bridge on Sunday, eagerly occupied in plans for “doing” their neighbors next morning!

The southern slaves are more generally contented in mind, more healthy in body, more independent in estate than many who estimate themselves more highly. The negroes possess sense enough to value *pretended friends*, like Helper, at their

real rates! Slaves often make as good trades for their own crops as their masters. In good manners and decency they are far superior to some who propose to export them like log-wood! We recommend when "tables" are again prepared for establishing the *comparative* resources, productions, wealth, and expenditures of the States, that attention be called to agricultural supplies derived from the "negro patches" *given* to the slaves by their masters to be worked for their own advantage and profit; part of which they consume, and a portion they sell for groceries and their peculiar domestic wants.

Any one who has seen a string of plantation wagons, each drawn by four or six mules, loaded up with "negro corn" or other produce; the owners, attended by masters on horseback, to see fair play, and hear the slaves on such occasion arguing and chaffering in the stores for new calico or silk gowns, with fine bonnets for their wives and daughters, knives, caps, and hats for their boys, and all kinds of comforts for their families, had better *groan* over some other quarter, or strive to make "the very poor" of their own neighborhood as happy as our negro slaves are!

A cautious physician assumes the average expenditure for one hundred slave hands on a plantation to be at least five hundred dollars *annually*. Professional attendance and expensive medicines are as cheerfully ordered for negroes as for whites, not only as a matter of immediate and direct interest, but from the kindest feelings of humanity. Often, by some who might be regarded among the most rude, unlettered or uncultivated owners, quinine in quantities, ten dollar brandy, and other supplies of like expensive character, are unhesitatingly purchased for negro slaves, after fevers if directed by a physician; and in many cases his attendance is requested "once more," when no hope for relief is anticipated by him, or can be looked for by the master.

The medical instruction annually given to crowds of Southern students at the North shows the constant demand for such services; but by Mr. Helper's estimate it exhibits our poverty, ignorance, and dependence!

Such attentions to the negro prevail, not only because he is merchandise, but also because *he is regarded as a human being*, created by the same God, though of a different race or "kind." Such opinion is sanctioned by the highest authorities known among men from the earliest ages of civilization—writings too much disregarded and perverted by many *constantly* exerting themselves to distribute "*these scriptures*" to others at a distance!

We have no desire to suggest offensive arguments, from foreign sources; but the avowed preference in New England, to every opinion and usage of Old England, with the well-known policy of the British government, cause us to feel the propriety of some reference to it. Our Northern friends "of the strictest sect," who in religious assemblies of clergymen and "professors," subscribed arms, money, and other means, against their fellow-citizens in the Territories, selected an Englishman as their drill officer. The educated people of New England are on most cordial terms with those active in fanatic projects, the anti-slavery men in Old England, all eager to meddle in the concerns of other people!

It is quite natural, to the *perverted* state of society in which they exist, that, having ruined their own colonies in the West Indies, by the sudden emancipation of the negroes, the British should now desire "to cut off the tails of their neighbors' horses, so that all can be plagued by the flies alike!"

We have no confidence in this grossly dyspeptic or affected English mock humanity which has been proven without benefit to the whites, and with much absolute increase of suffering to the negroes on sea or on land. We have a much better guide than the English, namely: the moral practice of the Hebrew, who modified slavery by just and humane restrictions, designed to benefit master and servant, serviceable alike for bond and free. When the hired servant, or apprentice at the North has no longer cause of complaint against his master, we shall be willing to receive suggestions from our Eastern or English neighbors who have now occupation enough, *at home*, if they wish for permanent improvement!

When, after an ancient revolution in the Eastern world, the great moral code was written, upon which the principles of our government are founded, all *existing* errors and abuses were attempted to be *reformed*, by knowledge drawn from previous experience. The very nature of such laws, forbidding well-known offences of man against his fellow, exhibits the condition and the manners of the age at the time of "The Writing." Ancient monuments in Egypt, like certain ruins upon this continent, portray the exact profiles and miniatures of negro servants. Such distinctions in the races of men are as plainly but justly expressed in the Mosaic Law as in the Constitution of the United States; each drawn from the Same Source of truth, influencing the hearts of intelligent men to just and merciful action toward the races of mankind.

If the institution of slavery, well known in Africa and among the ancient Egyptians, had been deemed necessarily "an immorality," we should read, "Ye shall have *no slaves*;" but "The Principles" presented are more true—"ye shall not covet;" "ye shall do no murder;" "ye shall not bear false witness, nor bear grudge against thy neighbor," &c. We distinguish special provisions also for Hebrew "native" servants, and for slaves bought or born from "the stranger."

In every particular this honorable code for moral conduct presents the natural and physical distinctions of humanity. It recognises the *necessity of truth* in the definite exercise both of justice and mercy. The moral laws of ancient days, specially regulate the conduct of those who are civilized, cultivated, and capable, to those who are savage, barbarous, ignorant, or poor, in order to advance the common interests, and increase the temporal prosperity of all.

At the present day men appear distracted, because they disregard a great moral support, strictly established upon natural laws, which many serious persons affect to despise! "Modern principles of economy," as they are called, are filled with absurdities.

Because some worthy, short-sighted scholar is imposed upon by a brazen beggar, all indiscriminate alms-giving is discovered to be evil, whatever suffering, poverty, age, or distress, be apparent in the applicant.

A contemplative gentleman in England, inadvertently possessing thirteen children, suddenly discovers he has done very wrong! He writes a pamphlet upon the Laws of Population, according to "Modern Economy," and strongly recommends that the Church service, in this particular, should be used with discretion, for fear of exhausting supplies of food! An entire abstinence from marital obligations being regarded as preferable to a general state of pauperism or starvation.

A weak and conceited man, with a large liver, from inheritance, careless in his diet, or his wife, is upset by a glass of miserable Madeira. His special experience is recorded; a general rule is then attempted to be established, by which all distillation is to be abandoned, and many trades be made to suffer for want of spirits of wine!

A mild, elderly "strong minded" lady, desperately given to knitting or snuff, studies over the sufferings of the poor negro slave, in that curious feminine production, called "Uncle Tom's Cabin;" she goes to work, knitting or snuffing all the time, to put the world straight in every particular, without dropping a stitch or omitting a snuffle.

It is this common craving for *generalization*, without sufficient data, which fills alms-houses, hospitals, lunatic asylums, and jails, with poor creatures, many of them infinitely worse off, "in body, soul,

and estate" than are negro slaves, who have too much sense to regard such matters, except by grins.

The several monomaniacs which oppress the age cannot be remedied by such "*treatment*" as the Helper tribe propose to us. We need to learn the absolute causes which promote political, moral, and social security, or health in life, and adapt them properly to laws ordained by God, to regulate our conduct severally to each other.

If at the South we have smaller debts for railroads and canals, less capital in bank stock, and fewer married people who can write their names, we may have less hypocrisy and vice; more enjoyment of life, and more contentment in our beautiful country, even with our comparative poverty.

There are acknowledged to be 800,000 militia men in the southern States, all good marksmen—all well armed, from the boy of ten to the man of seventy. We are confident, in case of need, our slaves would *assist us* against crazy ruffians from any quarter, whom the negroes despise as much as we do.

The union of the States was attained by the expenditure of the blood and property of our fathers. We would willingly die to maintain it. But we would have those who are *recreant* to sacred constitutional obligations *lashed into the traces* by their own neighbors, and *made to pull fairly* and truly, as a negro driver rules his mules when they will not mind his voice, or the roads are rough and heavy!

There are thousands of negro slaves, treated as valued friends, although "*merchandise*," who would risk their lives for their masters' families, against those who disturb their present happiness *by a speculation* for a translation to the barbarous coasts of their wild and wandering progenitors.

Independence and honesty of character occasionally coexist in a state of nominal slavery. Even nominal freedom is not always accompanied with equity, mercy, or truth. The constant excitement kept up upon this subject by designing *men, of education, wealth, and standing*, disturbs industry and security everywhere throughout the land. The union of the States can only be maintained by supporting those "*principles*" upon which our constitution of government was established, any rude interference with which will create confusion and harm among all the members.

A pretext—plausible at first sight—that modern Abolitionists only repeat the opinions of some of the fathers of our revolution on the subject of negro slavery, does not bear the same weight as formerly; because, after various attempts for emancipation, every one has signally failed to produce the designed results for the negro; and some have proved disastrous for the white man.

There is quite as strong a distinction between the original opponents of African slavery and the modern fanatics, as between an honest seaman, taking an observation to ascertain the position of a ship on the ocean, and a pretended fortune-teller who employs astrological signs to defraud a poor sewing girl of a week's wages by tales of an imagined sweetheart!

NOTE.—This article was written before the strike of the shoemakers at the North.